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178 tended to have a moderating influence on
paternalistic authoritarianism.

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562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to
industrialized cities was also affected in other
ways. Men of advanced years, particularly
if they had a classical education or held
official position, continued to be honored.
However, their position of influence and
authority was challenged by younger men with
the personal qualities of dynamic leadership
and success. Ancestor worship continued to
give a greater primacy to males in the family
but the ability of daughters to earn a wage
enhanced their value to the family and made
their early marriage into another family
less desirable. It should be noted, however,
that women of farming and laboring families
worked outside of the home only out of sheer
economic necessity. Neither sex approved of
female employment in the factory. Whenever
possible, it was avoided or terminated.
Among upper-class families, women with modern
education began gradually to seek employment
in the professions and to regard such work
as a means of establishing permanent personal
and economic independence.

- 594 The independent family in the modern
city was most subject to change. Though

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594 the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

578 While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in high school were willing to answer the question as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal," acting

582 and communities in Fukien where adult wives
nursed infant husbands or served as rented or
mortgaged chattels outside their homes.⁴⁰
Conditions in some parts of southern Anhwei
were summed up in one press report by quoting
the following ditty as still current in the area:

A twenty-year old wife, a year-old husband
She takes him to bed with his dirt and all,
But for fear of the parents' reprimand,
She would have kicked him way down the
floor.⁴¹

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582 Contrasting with this aspect of the family
in the East China Region is the opposite extreme
in Shanghai, where the family appears in its
most modern form. The Communist regime has
had little to say about family and marriage problems
in Shanghai, its main concern having been with
improving the situation in the rural, more
tradition-bound places. In fact, the initial
complacency of the Communist regime concerning
the operation of the new Marriage Law was based
on reports from such modern industrial centers
as Shanghai and their suburbs, disclosing an
increase in the number of divorces, particularly
those initiated by women. This was a reflection
of the general pattern of change in circumstances,
knowledge, and values impressed on the
individual and the family by city life.⁴²

40. Ibid., p. 6.

41. Ibid., p. 15.

42. See comments of American editors of
Ibid., 136, p. 3.

594 The change was evident in Olga Lang's 1937
582 findings on the comparative form and function
of the family in the cities of Shanghai, Peiping
(Peking), and Tientsin, and in rural areas
removed from the urban influence. In every
facet of the nature and values of the family
among all classes in these places, Shanghai
showed the greatest departure from the traditional
family system and ideology.⁴³ But even where
modernization was most advanced, Lang found
that of ninety-five industrial workers' families
interviewed, only 25 per cent of the marriages
had been formed by free choice of the partners,
and fifty-six of the ninety-six men and women
workers questioned said they would insist on
choosing their children's mates.⁴⁴ However, it
should be noted that the tendency toward modern
marriages increased with higher economic class,
better education, and occupation in modern industry
or professions.

B. The Clan

618 By the twentieth century, the vitality of the
clan had deteriorated throughout most of the
East China Region. Some vestiges of it still
remained in Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsu, and

43. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

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believed impossible. Based on 1934 standards, which of course represented an inadequate livelihood, his real earnings index was 93.48 in 1939; and in 1940, when three separate studies were made, it was between 93.59 and 108.93. The tendency persisted.

It is doubtful whether the authorities succeeded in ameliorating the puller's lot to any material extent. His standard of living was low in 1934 and apparently did not improve. What remained a puzzle is why he was ready to pull for so small a return. His monthly earnings failed by a considerable margin to meet the minimum needs of a worker's family.